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Article

How the Ancient Indian *Vīṇā* Travelled to Other Asian Countries: A Reconstruction through Scriptures, Sculptures, Paintings and Living Traditions

Piyal Bhattacharya and Shreetama Chowdhury

Abstract

Indian music before the 10th century AD was of a kind which we may today even find difficult to understand, because we are no longer familiar with the nuances of that tradition. The original forms of the musical instruments used during that time have also virtually disappeared from mainstream India. But these instruments can be found more or less in their original form outside India in South East Asia. These instruments travelled out of India to these countries due to historical reasons. This essay brings forth research that help us reconstruct the journey of the ancient Indian string instruments (the Harp, the Tube Zither and the Stick Zither) from their original form to their highly developed modern form, and in that process, demonstrates how India was the fountainhead of foundational theories upon which classical string instruments have developed in various cultures outside India, especially Myanmar and Cambodia.

Indian musical instruments can be broadly divided into two categories—pre-10th century AD and post-10th century AD. What has come down to us today is essentially Indo-Persian music and belongs to the latter chronological category. Indian music before the 10th century was of a kind which we may today even find difficult to understand, because we are no longer familiar with the nuances of that tradition. The present essay deals only with string instruments (other kinds of instruments have also witnessed evolution), and in this context, it may be noted that the Harp, the Tube Zither and the Stick Zither belong to the pre-10th century musical tradition in India. The original forms of these instruments have virtually disappeared from mainstream India. For example, the Tube Zither eventually developed

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into the Rudra Vīṇā of today and the Stick Zither is essentially an *eka-tantrī* (single string) instrument that exists today as *Tuhilā* among the tribal people of Jharkhand and Odisha. But these instruments can be found more or less in their original form outside India in South East Asia. For instance, the Stick Zither can be found up to Cambodia and Sumatra. While in India these instruments today belong to the tribal or folk traditions in a few states, these are very much classical instruments in SE Asia. This essay brings forth research that assembles all the information available on string instruments that help us reconstruct the journey of these instruments from their original form to their highly developed modern form. This thereby opens up new avenues from where further connections can be made to instruments that are still surviving in the living traditions of our neighbouring countries that were once part of the 'Greater India' that existed centuries ago.

These instruments travelled out of India to these countries due to historical reasons. For example, perhaps some time in the 7th century AD, when Buddhism was on the wane in India due to the rise of Mimamsa and Vedānta, the Indian harp migrated to Myanmar (erstwhile Burma) along with Buddhism. Music was an important artefact that travelled along with religion. In Myanmar today, the harp is believed to be divine and worshipped as the Buddha. The Indian harp that exists in Myanmar even today is different from the Karen harp which is the indigenous harp of Northern Myanmar. The playing techniques of the two harps are different, and the playing technique of the Indian harp in Myanmar is absolutely in consonance with the playing technique as described in Bharata's classic treatise, the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Cultural practices that thus migrated via trade routes, have got integrated within the cultures of these countries, where the original instrument still survives and has developed to gain a significant position within their community. Therefore, this study also establishes that the land of India was the fountainhead of foundational theories upon which classical string instruments have developed in various cultures outside India.

This essay draws from the following sources: a comparative study of classical texts on music; an examination of sculptures that indicate the form of instruments from a particular era and as described in the texts; and practices surviving in living traditions, whether in tribal communities or traditional classical practices. The methodology also involves practical training and reconstruction of instruments along with its theoretical implications. From a strictly musicological perspective, this methodology helps us determine any possible difference that exists between practice and theories—this aspect enables the study to move beyond the boundaries of scholarly endeavors, and find probable methods to integrate these insights into contemporary classical practices.

A Broad Classification of String Instruments

The Indian *Vīṇā* occupies the paramount stature in the Indian music system. In the ancient musical system, the *Vīṇā* played a major role in both practice and doctrines. It is broadly divided into two kinds: the Lute and the Harp (*Vakra Vīṇā*). There are two major categories of Zither (string instruments) dating back to 2000 years, namely the Tube Zither and the Stick Zither. There is no surviving tradition of the Tube Zither in India, but remnants of this Zither can be found in contemporary classical instruments. The Stick Zither, on the other hand, still survives sparingly in the tribal belts of Jharkhand and Odisha in India and in the South-East Asian countries. *Vakra Vīṇā* is the Indian Arched Harp that has migrated to Myanmar and survives in Buddhist Temples there.

Characteristics of Various *Vīṇā*-s as found in Scriptures and Manuscripts

The earliest text that is found on the ancient practice of music, dance and dramatic arts is Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, which is a very important resource on the traditional system that furnishes guidelines. Scriptures act as a guide as opposed to the popular belief about doctrinal assumptions. This encyclopaedic text is placed between 2nd Century BC and 2nd Century AD. Bharata Muni gave a complete prescription for the composition of the *Kutapa* (Orchestra) that serves as the commencing point for the interested to know about the ancient Indian tradition of music and musical instruments. It is a 2000-year-old practice encapsulated in the Kārikā of the 28th Chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*:

ततो कुतपविन्यासो गायनः सपरिग्रहः।
वैपनञ्चिको वैणिकश्च वंशवादक एव च॥
अष्टविंशतितमोऽध्यायः॥¹

The primary position is given to *Vipanchi* or the *Vīṇā*. *Vainika*, which is interpreted by many scholars as *Svaramandala*, is referred to as the *Mattakokila Vīṇā* (21-string Arched Harp) in *Abhinavabhāratī*, *Abhinavagupta*'s notable commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Thirdly, *Saparigraha* are the vocalists (*Gāyak* and *Gāyikā*) with their guides. According to Bharata's system, the *Vīṇā* belong to two groups based on their importance.

विपञ्ची चैव चित्रा च दारवीष्वङ्गसंहिते।
कच्छपीघोषकादिनी प्रत्यङ्गानि तथैव च॥
तत्रोत्तिशोऽध्यायः॥³

Vipanchi and *Chitra Vīṇā* are known as *Dārāvi Vīṇā* (prepared out of wood) and these are considered to be the main pillars of Bharata's music system, whereas the *Kachchapi* and *Ghośa Vīṇās* are secondary ones. The *Dārāvi Vīṇā* is known as *Aṅga Vīṇā* and the subordinate ones are known as *Pratyāṅga Vīṇā*.

The *Nartanadhyāya* and *Vādyādhyāya* of *Mataṅgamuni's Bṛhaddeśī* (6th-8th Century AD) have not been found yet. Thus, the *Bṛhaddeśī* cannot furnish any information regarding instruments. Therefore, to trace the reference to musical traditions after *Bharata Muni*, we need to engage with the *Saṅgītaratnākara* (1210-1247 AD). This classical text is of great importance as it comes just after Bharata's text. Without studying *Saṅgītaratnākara*, it is very difficult to understand the musical nomenclature. *Śārṅgadeva* has called the *Eka-tantrī Vīṇā*¹ (One-string Tube Zither) as *Ghośa Vīṇā* in his *Saṅgītaratnākara*. Thus, *Śārṅgadeva* has helped to identify Bharata's *Ghośa Vīṇā* as a One-String Tube Zither.

So, according to *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Bharata's music system consists of the following instruments:

1. *Ghośa Vīṇā*: One-String Tube Zither
2. *Chitra Vīṇā*: Seven-String Arched Harp
3. *Vipanchi Vīṇā*: Nine-String Arched Harp
4. *Mattakokila Vīṇā*: 21-String Arched Harp
5. *Kachchhapi Vīṇā*: Ancient Lute with five strings

Nāṭyaśāstra does not include any comprehensive details regarding Bharata's One-Stringed *Vīṇā*. But *Abhinavagupta* has mentioned *Eka-tantrī* or *Ghośa Vīṇā* as *Pīṣṭanaka*² in *Abhinavabhāratī* without any reference to its structure or form. In later texts, musicologists have mentioned its structure, use and techniques in great details.

The *Saṅgītaratnākara* stands at crucial crossroads where *Śārṅgadeva* documents the journey of musical traditions up to his time. He and the later commentators, *Siṃhabhūpāla* (circa 1330 AD) and *Kallinātha* (circa 1430 AD), provide detailed descriptions and the method of playing this *Vīṇā*. The *Bṛhaddeśī* (6th-8th Century AD) by *Mataṅgamuni* stands between the time of Bharata Muni, *Abhinavagupta* and *Śārṅgadeva*, making it another important text. But as mentioned above, its *Nartanadhyāya* and *Vādyādhyāya* are still missing, which compels us to start with *Saṅgītaratnākara*.

As per the scriptural references, there are two different types of One-Stringed Zithers belonging to both pre- and post- *Śārṅgadeva*'s period. There is another version of the *Eka-tantrī Vīṇā* (One-String Tube Zither) in the *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa* (17th century AD) by *Gajapati Nārāyaṇadeva*. This instrument originated in Odisha, and is known as *Ālāpinī Vīṇā* (One-string Stick Zither). With regard to the *Ālāpinī Vīṇā* (One-string Stick Zither), four variations of names can be found: as *Ālāpinī* in *Saṅgītaratnākara*; as *Alāvanī* in *Saṅgītanārāyaṇa*, as *Alāvani* in *Saṅgīadāmodara* (c. 1718-1767 AD), and as *Ālāpinī* in *Saṅgīta Darpaṇam*.

Vīṇā-s as found in Sculptures, Relics and Living Traditions



Figure 1a: Natarāja on bull with Vīṇā in hand, 10th century AD, Pāla, Naṭghar, Bengal



Figure 1b: Photoshopped image highlighting Natarāja and Eka-tantrī Vīṇā

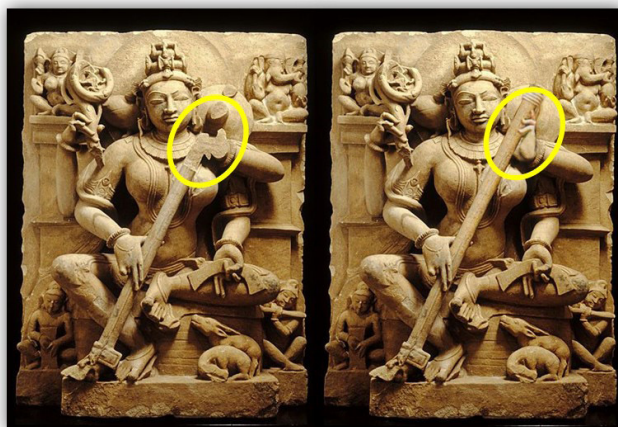


Figure 2a: Sarasvatī with Eka-tantrī Vīṇā in hand, 10th-11th century AD, Walters Art Museum

Figure 2b: Photoshopped hand of the sculpture restoring the damaged portions for better understanding



Figure 2c: Photoshopped version highlighting the Eka-tantrī Vīṇā

Eka-tantrī Vīṇā

In Fig. 1, Natarāja is holding the *Vīṇā*. It is an *Eka-tantrī Vīṇā* (One-String Tube Zither). The *tumba* (gourd) is on the shoulder. It can be concluded that the *Rudra Vīṇā* may have developed from this instrument in the medieval centuries. In Fig. 2, Sarasvatī is holding the One-stringed Tube Zither where the tube and the *tumba* both are bigger as compared to the *Ālāpinī Vīṇā* (One-string Stick Zither). The dancer-cum-musician in Fig. 3 is holding an *Eka-tantrī Vīṇā* (One-String Tube Zither). It can be identified as the *tumba* rests above her shoulder. In Fig. 5, the *Eka-tantrī Vīṇā* (One-String Tube Zither) is seen with some frets. This supports the theory of this *Vīṇā* developing into the *Rudra Vīṇā*.



Figure 3: Nartakī with *Eka-tantrī Vīṇā* in hand, 11th century AD, Khajuraho, Madhya Pradesh



Figure 4: Sarasvatī with *Eka-tantrī Vīṇā* in hand, 12th century AD, Halebidu, Hoysala dynasty, Karnataka



Figure 5: Kṛṣṇa dancing with Gopīs, with *Eka-tantrī Vīṇā* in hand, Vasanta Rāgini, circa 1770 AD, Kota, Rajasthan

Ālāpinī Vīṇā

The second variant is the Ālāpinī Vīṇā, the One-string Stick Zither. This instrument gained popularity after the *Eka-tantrī Vīṇā* and henceforth, can be considered to be a successor in terms of development and acceptance. Traditional practice of this instrument still survives in India and in South-east Asia. As compared to the *Eka-tantrī Vīṇā*, it is small in size. The deity in Fig. 6 is carrying the Ālāpinī Vīṇā and the gourd is resting on the chest.

According to legend and one of the interpretations, the inscription on the panel of the Vaikuntha Perumal Temple, Kanchipuram suggests that the King Nandivarma Pallavamalla was brought from Kamboja (ancient Cambodia) to rule over the heirless state. As per the scholars, musical instruments like Ālāpinī Vīṇā have travelled between these two countries. Example of it can be traced in the depiction of similar cultural relics of the Temple of Bayon and the Vaikuntha Perumal Temple. Its primitiveness can be seen as it survives as a folk instrument in India amongst the Oraon tribes of Jharkhand and the Daripada district of Odisha. This also survives within the traditional practice of Mayurbhanj Chau. Let us briefly look at the practice among the Indian tribal communities as well as the musicians of Cambodia.



Figure 6a: Naṭarāja with Vīṇā, Gurjara Partihāra, 9th Century AD, Museum of Art, West Berlin



Figure 6b: Photoshopped image of Natarāja's sculpture



Figure 7: Ardhanārīśvara with Vīṇā, 1st century AD, Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchipuram, India

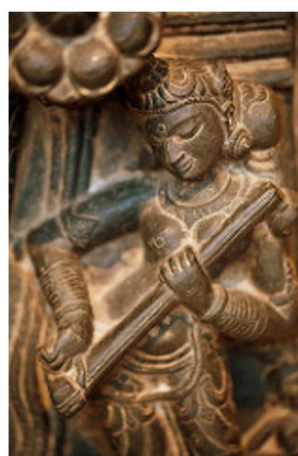


Figure 8: Sarasvatī as a consort of Viṣṇu, 10th century AD, Pala dynasty, Bengal, India



Figure 9: Tuhilā



Figure 10: Late Kali Shankar Mahali



Figure 11: Lalushankar Mahali teaching students



Figure 12: Piyal Bhattacharya learning from Lalushankar Mahali

Within the oral tradition of Jharkhand, in the village of Jonah, survives a primitive version of this instrument, known as Tuhilā. Late Kali Shankar Mahali was the pioneer of bringing this instrument to light. Lalu Shankar Mahali is the surviving practitioner of that tribe. Traditional cultural practices along with its methodology began with the tradition of teaching orally. It was after a considerable amount of propagation and practice that these practices started being documented and reflected in iconographical representation. The same can be concluded of the living tradition of the Tuhilā amongst the tribes of Jharkhand and Odisha. In Mayurbhanj Chau, the Brahmachārī enters by playing Jhumur on Tuhilā. Biren Dasⁱ, a documentary filmmaker has documented this and interviewed the artist. It is, therefore, the living tradition that helps us chart the path in the right direction with the help of scriptures.

Now let us look at South East Asia. The Thai lute is called Phin (Fig. 15). This word is derived from Indian word Bīn (colloquial form of vīṇā). It has two strings, three strings, and four strings. Ālāpinī Vīṇā had started to develop into the Eka-tantrī, Dwītantrī, Trītantrī and Chaturtantrī Vīṇās. In Cambodia, the Ksa Diev (Fig. 16) is an instrument that is played ritualistically during ceremonies. It has another variant, known as Ksa Muay (Fig. 17).



Figure 13: The gourd of Tuhilā against the artist's chest



Figure 14: Chunnu playing Tuhila, Daripada, Odisha, 2019



Figure 15: Phin Pia, Thailand



Figure 16: Sinat Nahok playing Ksa Diev, Cambodia

i Biren Das is a freelance documentary filmmaker, ace television producer for ISRO Communication Wing, Doordarshan, and others.



Figure 17: A variant of Ksa Muay with two gourds, Cambodia



Figure 18: Bayon, Jayavarman VII temple mountain. Cambodia

Similarly, in the sculptures of South East Asia, the Ālāpinī Vīṇā is given the same iconographical status as in India. The instrument developed further in these countries. The addition of two gourds (Figs. 17 and 18) indicates a similarity with the development of the Indian Rudra Vīṇā. Let us again turn to India, to see the development of the instrument here. In another sculpture of Sarasvatī (Fig. 19) we can see her holding a Kāmrikā in the left hand, positioned upon the staff, and the gut string is tied with *ḍorī* or spun yarn at the top of the staff. There is an exact mention of this description in the *Saṅgītaratnākara*. Another version of this is found as Kapilāsikā (Fig. 20) in *Saṅgīta Nārāyaṇa* by Gajapati Nārāyaṇa Deva. That is a one-stringed but two-gourded Tube-Vīṇā, whose existence could be found in disguise as the 'Kuplyans' in 18th century Bengal. These Vīṇā-s were played by Brahmins around Kalighat and can be seen in paintings depicting nautch girls (Fig. 21). These instruments were accompanied by percussion instruments.



Figure 19: Eka-tantrī Vīṇā in the hands of Sarasvatī, c. 10th century AD, Gorakhpur, India



Figure 20: Kapilasika



Figure 21: 'Kuplyans' can be seen in the performance of the nautch girls, Painting by Francois Balthazar Solvyns (Source: A Collection of Two Hundred and Fifty Coloured Etchings (1799), Sec XI, No. 7)

Aṅga Vīṇā

The *Aṅga Vīṇā* (21-string harp or the Mattakokila Vīṇā of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*) later became the *Vakra Vīṇā*. Historically, there has been a migration of the Indian Arched Harp or the *Vakra Vīṇā* to Myanmar. While the history of this transmission is mostly accepted in its general outline, the details are not yet definitively known and are even disputed. A satisfactory and exact chronology of this migration has also not been established yet. Claudie Marcel-Dubois in her book *Les Instruments de Musique de L'Inde Ancienne* (1941) states that the harp went to Myanmar from Bengal sometime after the 8th century AD. However, Judith Becker would like to argue that the harp travelled to Myanmar not from the north of India but from the south eastern coast of India, sometime before 500 A.D and not after the 8th century A.D.⁶ Becker bases her argument on the records of the Pyu, the immediate predecessors of the Burmans in Lower Burma.

Becker writes that the theory that the arched harp came from Bengal to Burma after the 8th century A.D. is based upon the following fact. The harps on temple reliefs of medieval Burma (1000-1200 AD) are like the harps found on the temple reliefs in Bengal. "The Bengal harps, the last to appear in India, have a characteristic elongated shape with the body merging imperceptibly into the neck. About a century later similar harps appear in Burma in temple reliefs at Pagan."⁷ In fact, different kinds of artistic influences are known to have passed from Bengal to Myanmar in the early years of the Pagan dynasty. But Becker argues that the general shape and playing position of the Pyu Harp co-relates with both

today's harp and the Indian harp from Amravati in the period between 200-400 AD. "The first written account of the harp in Burma also dates from the period of the Pyu Kingdom. This document comes not from Burma itself but from ninth-century China. In A.D. 802, a delegation including thirty-five musicians, was sent by the Pyu king to the Tang dynasty capital, Yang-chao. Their unusual instruments and excellent performances astonished and delighted the Chinese court. The twelve songs sung by the Pyu musicians were on Buddhist themes. This event is recorded and described in the *New Tang History*."⁸ The list of Pyu instruments included two harps.



Figure 22: Line drawing of Pyu Harp, Lower Burma, before 300 AD (Source: Judith Becker, 'The Migration of the Arched Harp')



Figure 23: Line drawing of a harp from Amaravati (Source: Claudie Marcel-Dubois, *Les Instruments de Musique de l'Inde Ancienne*)

Becker further substantiates her position by providing different kinds of evidence. The relationship between the Pyu harp and that of Amaravati would be very tenuous had it not been for the extensive cultural contacts between the two areas at this time. In the 5th century A.D., present-day Kanchipuram emerged as an important Buddhist centre, just south of Amaravati on the south-eastern Indian coast. One of the dynastic names of the Pyu rulers, Varman, is also a dynastic name of the Pallava kings who ruled in Kanchipuram. "Among the earliest inscriptions discovered in Burma, dating from the seventh century A.D. or earlier, are those in the Pallava alphabet in use at Conjeeveram [Kanchipuram] at this time. These inscriptions frequently mention the great Buddhist commentator of Conjeeveram, Dhammapala. Buddhist missionary activity was the primary vehicle for Indian cultural expansion in Burma at this time. There is an intimate relation in India between the arched harp and Buddhism. The harp in India is seen in representations of the court orchestras of Buddhist dynasties (Sunga, Kanva, Andra, Pallava and Gupta). The harp is represented in the hands of Buddhist divinities and the harp disappeared in India at the same time that Hinduism became the dominant religion."⁹

In 832 AD, the Pyu capital was destroyed by the tribes from Nanchao. The Pyu-s were decimated and the bird head harp disappeared. In 849 AD, soon after the fall of the Pyu Kingdom, the Burmans established their capital at Pagan. The Nagayon Temple (1084 AD) and the Ananda Temple (1090 AD) show the harp on predellas of stone reliefs of the Buddha. The later Lokahteikpan Temple (1113 AD) contains a fresco of a Jataka story that shows a harp. The harp that we see at Pagan has similarities with the Nagarjuna, Kondahar Harp but the Pyu Harp is different (Figs. 24 and 27). In the meantime, while all this was happening in Myanmar, Cambodia was liberated from the rule of Java by Jayavarman II, who founded the Angkor Kingdom (802-850 AD). Sculptures depicting the harp can also be found in Angkor Wat (Fig. 28). Historian C. Shivaramamurti thus explains: "The musical orchestra of Java, as well as that of Thailand and Cambodia are close to that of India, and what has sometimes disappeared from India centuries ago, still lives in harp shape in Burma, and helps us to visualize the musical instrument used by Samudragupta."¹⁰ (Fig. 30)



Figure 24: From left to right: Pyu Harp; Pagan Harp, Nagayon Temple



Figure 25: Cave Paintings at Bhimbhetka Cave, M.P., 5000 BC. It shows that harp-like musical instruments have been created by human beings since times immemorial.

Figure 26: Sarasvatī playing the harp, Gurjara-Pratihara period, 7th-11th century AD, Delhi Museum, India. This harp has many similarities with the Saung Gauk, the harp that is played even today in the Buddhist temples of Myanmar.





Figure 27a: Arched harp as seen on the temple wall of Nagayon Temple, 1084 AD, Pagan, Myanmar

Figure 27b: Photoshopped image highlighting the harp; big harps with 21 strings are not seen in the sculptures of Indian temples.



Figure 28a: Musicians playing big harps, Angkor Wat, Cambodia

Figure 28b: Highlighted instrument



Figure 29a: Musicians playing big harps



Figure 29b: Highlighted instrument

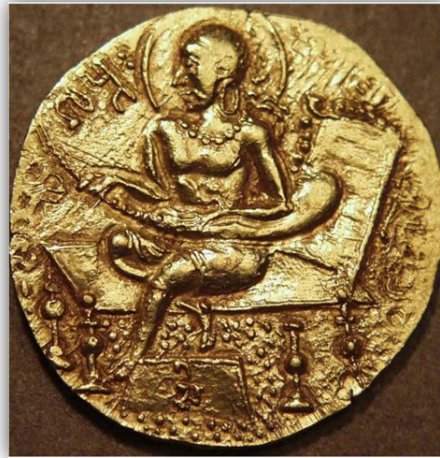


Figure 30: Emperor Samudragupta playing the Chitrā Vīṇā, gold coin, 9th century AD, London Museum (Courtesy: Roderick Knight)

Now let us look at the form in which the arched harp survived in modern India. It survived as Bin-Baja among the tribal people of the Gond Community. The Bin-Baja is a tribal instrument that has, however, lost its existence in practice now. With changing social structures and the tribal community being forced to work in cities for livelihood, there are very few young Gonds left, who are taking this traditional musical practice forward. The instrument had survived till 1990 but it cannot be found now. Even the Tribal Society of the Madhya Pradesh Government has no record of such a tribal instrument. Ram Prasad Pandro was the only man who used to play it, following the methodology of the five-stringed arched harp.



Figure 31: Ram Prasad Pandro of Kokomata village playing the Bin-Baja (Photo by Roderic Knight, 1982)



Figure 32a: The Bin-Baja, plectrum harp of the Gogla Pardhan (Photo by Roderic Knight, 1982)

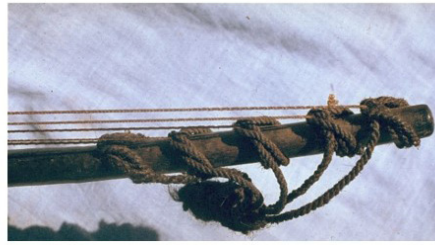


Figure 32b: The Bin-Baja (details)



Figure 33: Ethno-musicologist Patrick Karsale, with his reconstruction of the pre-Angkorian harp, which according to him, migrated from India to Cambodia.

Reconstruction and Later Developments

This entire study of the evolution of the Indian *Vīṇā* is intimately related to our research-and-practice-based reconstruction of the original form of the ancient Indian harp. Thus, in conclusion, a few words may be said about our journey of this reconstruction done on the basis of the harp found in Myanmar. The 'Saung Gauk' (Burmese Harp) of Myanmar has its own typical designs. During the reconstruction session, instead of this traditional design of the Burmese harp, a design was devised in keeping with the depiction found in the Indian sculptural relics (Fig. 35). The head of the typical Burmese Harp is of the shape of the *peepal* leaf as it denotes Buddhist principles; whereas the Mattakokila *Vīṇā* had a 'bird head' or the coiled head. It was reconstructed with the coiled head because even during the ancient Buddhist period, there were 'bird head' harps in India, as can be seen in the sculptures of Nagarjunakonda. In order to follow the Indian tradition very closely, these minor changes were made during the process of reconstruction.

How the Ancient Indian Vīṇā Travelled to Other Asian Countries: A Reconstruction through Scriptures, Sculptures, Paintings and Living Traditions

The project was commenced and completed under the Intangible Cultural Heritage Fellowship 2014 of the Sangeet Natak Akademi of the Government of India. The Burmese institution that helped in this reconstruction and with training in the Saung Gauk was the Gitameit Music Centre in Myanmar. The instrument craftsmanship still survives in Myanmar but is no longer available in India. Guru U Win Maung trained and helped the craftsmen, and patiently assisted the project even at the age of 86 years.



Figure 34a: The Details of Reconstruction

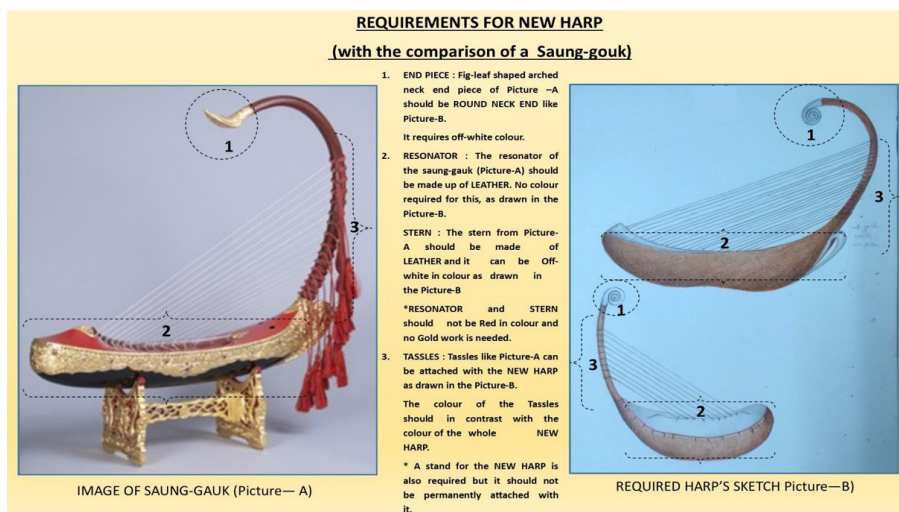


Figure 34b: The Details of Reconstruction



Figure 35a: Piyal Bhattacharya at the Gitameit Music Centre, Myanmar



Figure 35b: Bhattacharya's disciple, Subhendu Ghosh



Figure 35c: Piyal Bhattacharya learning natural tuning process from Guru U Win Maung



Figure 35d: Craftsman making the reconstructed harp



Figure 35e: Reconstruction in progress



Figure 35f: Detail of the reconstructed harp



Figure 36: Left: Saung Gauk, Burmese Harp; Right: Reconstructed Mattakokila Vīṇā, Ancient Indian Arched Harp

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